

The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe



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Bitter Civil Strife Sweeps Over Greece

Former Premier Venizelos Fails in Attempt to Wrest Power From Panayoti Tsaldaris

DEMOCRACY SEEN ON THE WANE

Foreign Influences Rumored Behind Steps Toward Dictatorship

News of civil war in Greece causes us to turn our eyes to this old land, where so much of our culture and civilization had its origin. Those of us who are familiar with Greek history can scarcely think of it as a modern land. And if we were to visit it today we would see much to remind us of ancient Greece. The mountains and islands still retain many of the names familiar to Greek history. The crumbling columns of old temples remain, and fig and olive trees are cultivated just as they were when the first Greek trading ships sailed among the Aegean islands.

Greece Today

Yet the Greece of today is very different from what it was in classical times. In those days every little compartment-like valley was an independent state, and the people called themselves Athenians, Spartans, or Corinthians. Today, though they may quarrel for political power, the Greeks all belong to the same nation. Ancient Athens with its stately buildings on Acropolis hill gradually fell into ruins, but in the last century a modern Athens of half a million people has been built around the Acropolis. Just as in the days of Plato, the Greek people are mostly farmers, but in addition to grape vines, fruit and olive trees, they produce wheat, tobacco, and currants. Currant bushes thrive on the rocky soil of Greece better than anywhere else in the world.

There is one good custom that Greeks have retained since the days of their famous ancestors, and that is their warm hospitality. It is said that the humblest Greek farmer or shepherd would never hesitate to give up his only bed to a stranger guest, and would go to no end of trouble to make him comfortable. Some attempt has been made to revive some of the other customs of bygone Greece, especially the old Greek plays and dances. On two occasions the modern Olympic games have been held in Athens in the very field where muscular Greek athletes practiced 25 centuries ago.

One of the most interesting sights in Greece is the parade of her crack regiment, the Evzones. These soldiers wear tasseled caps, embroidered jackets, and short white kilts, so that their legs may be free for mountain climbing. The Evzone officers are taking an important part in the present revolt against the Greek government.

As this is written, press reports from Athens indicate that the rebellion has been crushed and that the complete rout of all antigovernmental forces is only a matter of a few days' time. However, while these reports may be accurate, they are not wholly trustworthy. The Greek government has established the most rigid censorship in Athens. Only news favorable to the government is allowed to pass over the border. Other sources tend to show that

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ANXIOUS MOMENT

—Elderman in Washington Post

The Acquisition of Knowledge

One of the outstanding characteristics of Alexander Hamilton's mind, according to a recent biographer, Johan J. Smertenko, was its ability to assimilate knowledge. "Most people are distinguished for their infinite capacity to resist knowledge," says the biographer. "Some, parrot-like, are able to acquire the ideas of others; a few possess a lasting memory for fact. Hamilton's extraordinary faculty for retaining facts and ideas was second only to his power of absorbing them in a creative mind which converted them to its own original and independent use."

What of the charge that most people are distinguished by their capacity to resist knowledge? Is it justified? Is it justified in your own case? That is a question which every student should ponder. Undoubtedly many people do resist knowledge. When they hear of a new idea they are on guard against it. Because of their unconscious egotism they assume that everything they have believed must necessarily be true and so they shy away from new ideas. This tendency is even more marked in older people. Their systems of thought become fixed. Their opinions harden, and a fact or thought which would necessitate a change of views is thrown aside without consideration.

If you wish to test yourself to see whether your mind has become encrusted so that it repels the invasion of new bits of knowledge you can easily do so. Just pick up a newspaper or magazine. Read until you come to an opinion which differs markedly from your own—an expression of someone whose political and economic ideas you have opposed. What is your reaction? Do you give thought to the arguments which are advanced? Do you hold them in your mind a moment to see whether they may require a modification of your notion? Or, do you immediately discard and disregard them, assuming that they are necessarily in error? If you take the latter course you are doing what the great mass of mediocre people do. You are resisting knowledge.

One is not on the road to wisdom, of course, if he is too receptive to the ideas with which he comes in contact, repeating the opinions which others express. One may gain something of the power which distinguished Alexander Hamilton if he will turn new facts and ideas over in his mind sympathetically and yet tentatively until he has determined their value. After you ask of an alleged fact, "Is it true?" ask, "What does it mean?" "How does it fit in with the other facts which I have acquired?" Such is the process of absorption which must be followed if one is to gain a mastery over facts and to translate them into knowledge and finally into wisdom and power.

Federal Housing Program Expanded

Plans to Spend \$450,000,000 From Work Relief Fund on Low-Cost Housing Projects

NEED FOR NEW BUILDING SEEN

But Many Difficulties and Objections Impede Federal Action

The president is asking Congress to place in his hands \$4,800,000,000 in order that he may start public works, give employment to those out of jobs, stimulate industry by government purchases of material, and put purchasing power into the hands of workers. The hope is that the nation may be started on the road to recovery, while those who are in distress are being relieved. But what kind of public works are to be constructed? What is the government to do with this huge sum of money?

One answer to that question is, "Carry on a great housing program. Build something which the people need. They need houses. Then let houses be built. If hundreds of thousands of homes are being constructed, materials must be bought by the government. This will help the steel and cement and lumber and plumbing industries. It will assist the industries which make all kinds of equipment for houses. It will furnish work to the several million men who normally find jobs in the construction industry but who are now unemployed. It will give assistance to that part of American industry which is most depressed and which, by revival, could contribute most to prosperity."

Housing Plans

Such arguments as these have been heard since the beginning of the Roosevelt administration. From time to time there have been rumors that the government would go into the housing business on a large scale. A beginning has been made. There is a Housing Division in the Public Works Administration. Some time ago it was given \$150,000,000 to clear slums and engage in the building of low-cost, low-rent houses. It has used some of this money by granting loans to private housing companies which are pledged to operate with limited profits and to furnish houses which will rent at low figures. Another portion of the money is being spent on projects which the Housing Division, a government agency, is carrying on itself. These projects are financed wholly by the Public Works Administration, and will be erected and operated under government supervision. Projects of this kind are being carried on by the government in 10 cities. Private companies are being given loans by the PWA in several cities.

Now it is announced that the government will go into the housing business on a larger scale. It is said that \$450,000,000 of the \$4,800,000,000 which Congress is asked to grant will be used in housing projects. This announcement will encourage those who are anxious to have the government increase its home-building operations and who are satisfied with a very moderate program at this time. It will discourage those who believe that the government should attack the housing problem in a really big way—who think that most of

(Concluded on page 6)

FOLLOWING THE NEWS

IN the political world last week the air was blue. Such a wild calling of names as that which marked the rumpus between Huey Long and his opponents has not been witnessed in this country in many a year (see page 7). General Hugh S. Johnson, former National Recovery Administrator, fired the opening gun Monday night when he delivered a blistering attack on Long and Father Coughlin, whom he described as "two Pied Pipers" come to lead the people of the United States to destruction. Father Coughlin, he said, is a purveyor of "musical, blatant bunk," while the Louisiana senator won the dubious titles of "Hitler of one of our sovereign states" and "plausible Punchinello." Both of them are working to destroy the gains made under Roosevelt, said Johnson, and they are a menace to the country.

Long, responding the next day on the floor of the Senate, dubbed the general "the lately lamented, pampered ex-crown prince" (referring to his former high position in the administration) and described him as a tool of big business. Apparently it was a moment long awaited by Senator Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic majority leader. No sooner had Huey finished than Robinson leaped to his feet and delivered a scathing denunciation of Long, whom he described as "egotistical, arrogant, and ignorant." Long, he said, had been disgusting the Senate for weeks with these "ravings of a madman."

The battle is no mere display of words, however. Long and Coughlin have roundly condemned the administration, and the Roosevelt forces apparently have decided that they are no longer to be taken lightly. Long is flooding the country with pamphlets describing his "share-the-wealth" program, by which the fortunes of the wealthy are to be broken up and distributed among the poor. Although his plan is widely regarded as the vain promise of a demagogue it may well be that this issue will play a large part in the next presidential election.

Lost Only 3,000 Men

Today thousands of men in various countries in Europe and Asia are willing to die for their dictators. They are carried away by speeches and by the belief that their leaders are as devoted to them as they are to their leaders. In this connection it is interesting and perhaps enlightening to read what one such leader actually thought of the men who died for him. In a letter to the Empress Marie Louise, recently made public, Napoleon Bonaparte wrote: "My health is good. I lost no one of any importance. I put my losses at three thousand killed and wounded."

A Dangerous Law

Last fall the Supreme Court made an important decision when it upheld the New York State milk law. This legislation provided for a minimum price below which it became illegal either to buy or sell milk. Recently this same law brought forth another important Supreme Court decision. Here are the circumstances:

A New York company undertook to buy milk at a lower rate from a dairy concern in Vermont and sold it in New York at the prevailing price, thus making a greater profit than its competitors. The state refused to permit this practice, which it held was a violation of the milk law. Now the Supreme Court has decided that this application of the milk law is not permissible, since it obstructs interstate commerce. Because of the possibilities brought out in the decision the Supreme Court's verdict is an interesting one. If states could make such a regulation as this, reasoned the Court, they would be able to keep out cheaper goods from other states. In other words, we would have among the

states a system equivalent to the levying of tariffs and customs duties. Under the Constitution this power is limited to the federal government. To allow the states such a privilege would result in trade wars between them, such as those which prevented a real union in the days of the Articles of Confederation, shortly after the Revolutionary War.

Toward National Safety?

Last year the United States appropriated \$256,000,000 for the War Department. This year the Senate has voted to allow \$400,000,000, one of the highest peace-time military appropriations on record. If the House agrees to this amount, the army will probably be increased from 118,750 men to 165,000. Although few senators voiced their disapproval of the increased expenditure, they debated for three days, trying to cut the appropriation down.

Senator Nye, who as leader of the munitions investigating committee is bitterly opposed to heavy armament, protested vigorously against the measure. He criticized particularly the argument that we must increase our army because other nations have strengthened or intend to strengthen theirs. "While we are seeking to justify expenditures on the basis of what others are doing," he declared, "the others are doing the very same thing on the basis of what we are doing."

Changes in the NRA

The latest development of the NRA is the resignation of S. Clay Williams. Mr. Williams, who was president of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (Camels) before coming to Washington, has been chairman of the NRA board since General Johnson resigned. Organized labor has not liked Mr. Williams from the outset. The American Federation of Labor has demanded that he resign on several occasions. Leaders of this organization have accused Mr. Williams of being too sympathetic with business interests as opposed to labor. Therefore, they consider it a victory that he is leaving the NRA, although President Roosevelt insists that Williams is leaving because he wants to and not because he is being forced out.

This resignation is taken by many to mean that the NRA will be completely reorganized between now and June, when it is supposed to expire. There is a possibility that this agency will again be headed by one man, as it was under General Johnson, instead of by a five-man board, as it is now. Many senators do not want the life of the NRA extended past June, because they believe it has been a failure. But President Roosevelt thinks it should have a longer trial, and his wish will probably be carried out.

Farley Absolved

Recently Senator Huey Long accused Postmaster General Farley of improper

conduct. For one thing, he reported that Farley had been engaged in private business ever since his appointment and that he has used his public authority to increase his private wealth. Furthermore, Long explained that the postmaster had used government printing presses to have souvenir stamps made for his friends. Finally, said Mr. Long, Farley has endeavored to increase the funds of his party by collecting contributions from government employees.

The Louisiana senator demanded that a Senate commission be appointed to investigate Mr. Farley. The Senate's Post Office Committee studied his charges, but decided unanimously that there was no evidence to show that Farley had done anything wrong.

"Arizona Ambassador"

Something new in the way of state representation was introduced into Washington last week. The governor of Arizona thinks that the senators and congressmen of his state do not have time to take care of all the state's business with the federal government so he has decided to send a special envoy, a sort of "ambassador from Arizona." The legislature at Phoenix appropriated \$7,500 to pay the salary and expenses of this extraordinary official. "There are many errands," explained the governor, "which our senators and congressmen don't have time to run. Then, we want our share of any government money that is to be passed around."

Television

When the British government recently announced that television would immediately be launched in England, several radio laboratories in this country lost no time in declaring that developments in the field of television are no further advanced in England than they are in the United States. The Radio Corporation of America asserts that the results which have been obtained by its laboratory experiments are as good or better than those obtained abroad. "The problems here are vastly greater because of our country's size," according to the RCA officials. They say that television service on a nation-wide basis in the United States is impractical at the present time, but that the obstacles standing in the way will be overcome.

Permanent World's Fair

Plans to build a permanent fair in Chicago on the site of the Century of Progress Exposition have been revealed by Mayor Kelley of Chicago. If money for construction can be borrowed from the federal government building will begin at once, and the park will be finished in a year and a half.

The plans include a gigantic auditorium and exhibition hall, a recreation park on the shore of Lake Michigan, and facilities for winter sports.



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THE GREAT LAKE FORMS

Behind Boulder Dam water is slowly rising to form the huge artificial lake which will bring the advantages of modern engineering to an entire region.

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Cowboy songs are popular again, and almost everybody sings them except cowboys.
—Daily OKLAHOMAN

Science is resourceful. It couldn't pry open a day-coach window, so it air-conditioned the train.
—Montreal STAR

To know
That which before us lies in daily life
Is the prime wisdom.
—John Milton

A naturalist has just learned that fish have no method of communication. We found that out years ago. They never have responded to lines we drop them.
—Washington Post

The Constitution is gone, says Justice McReynolds, but let's hope it's still among friends.
—Buffalo EVENING NEWS

Care to our coffin adds a nail, no doubt,
And every grin so merry draws one out.
—John Wolcott

It's a fine example the House sets for other householders, starting out with 2200 bills!
—Philadelphia INQUIRER

Roosevelt seeks ways to obtain cheaper power. Our guess is that the embarrassed G. O. P. would like to know, too.
—Dallas MORNING NEWS

I am not a Virginian, but an American.
—Patrick Henry

The reason we have so many laws in this country is because nearly all of them were made for the other fellow.
—Atlanta JOURNAL

If you laugh at your own jokes, other people are not obliged to.
—Detroit FREE PRESS

A bishop has said that among those enterprises which depend for success on implicit faith are love and democracy. And, it should be added, hash.
—PUNCH

Who never wins can rarely lose,
Who never climbs as rarely falls.
—John Greenleaf Whittier

Stalin has given the Russians more soap, but no announcement has yet been made regarding his razor policy.
—Saginaw DAILY NEWS

In the North a party of skating enthusiasts recently planned to drive a coach on the ice but found that it was too thin. So the whole thing fell through.
—PUNCH



FARMERS DEMAND RELIEF OF THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE
And in order to lend emphasis to their demands they bring starving livestock to show the legislators.

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AROUND THE WORLD

Great Britain: British diplomacy has an enviable reputation for smooth words and wise moves. But when the British government recently issued a "white paper" on armaments, thousands shook their heads and murmured that London had pulled a diplomatic boner. The white paper, a statement of government policy, was primarily an announcement that Great Britain intended to increase her arms expenditures by about \$50,000,000. There was nothing particularly startling in that, but it gave as a reason for the increase the fact that Germany's rearming had disturbed European peace. It said,

This rearmament, if continued at the present rate, unabated and uncontrolled, will aggravate the existing anxieties of Germany's neighbors and may consequently produce a situation where peace will be in peril.

The British Government have noticed and welcomed the declaration of leaders in Germany that they desire peace. We cannot, however, fail to recognize that not only their forces, but the spirit in which the population, especially the youth, of their country are being organized lend color to and substantiate the general feeling which has been incontestably generated.

Now in view of the fact that Sir John Simon, British foreign minister, had just packed his suitcase and was about to go to Berlin for a friendly chat with Hitler about the London Pact, a statement of this sort seemed rather tactless. When Hitler saw it he was very angry. He called in his adviser on foreign affairs, Von Ribbentrop, and asked what was to be done about it. "Punish them," said Ribbentrop in effect, "tell them you have a cold and can't see Sir John. Let them know that we Germans will not stand for disparaging remarks!"



© Wide World
SIR JOHN SIMON

So Hitler sent his regrets to Great Britain, and Foreign Minister Simon unpacked his bag. But strangely enough, Britain did not seem unduly alarmed at the turn of events. If she could not see Hitler about her European security pacts, she knew that Moscow and Warsaw would listen. Captain Anthony Eden, Simon's first assistant, was therefore ordered to get ready for a trip to Russia. And in Germany Hitler began to wonder if he had not been too fussy about his cold. It did not suit his plans to have Britain becoming too friendly with Moscow and Warsaw. He summoned the British ambassador to him, said that his cold was very much better, and asked if Sir John could not arrange to come to Berlin about March 20. Then Herr Hitler had his trunk packed and went off for a little vacation. He felt that he needed a rest and an opportunity to study the intricacies of British diplomacy.

Cuba: Presidents rise and topple in rapid succession in Cuba, but President Carlos Mendieta, who has held office for over a year, does not intend to be thrown from power. He is the leader of a very small party known as the Nationalists, but when he took office most Cubans acquiesced, for they believed that the new president was democratic and sincere in his desire to improve Cuba's economic condition. So far, the improvement has been imperceptible. University students, angered at the slowness of the president, accused him of restricting the freedom of teaching and said that the military leaders were too influential in political affairs. Practically every college student in Cuba went on strike. High school students followed their lead, and even those in ele-

mentary school refused to go to school until the president was removed from office. One by one, the members of the presidential cabinet resigned, then the employees in government departments left work. Agitating students have tried to tie up Cuba completely by winning over street-car motormen, railway engineers, and in fact every workman in Cuba to the general strike idea. The president has tried to suppress the revolt by force. He enjoys the support of the army, led by Colonel Batista, who graduated overnight from sergeant to commander-in-chief. Together Mendieta and Batista have declared martial law and a military dictatorship. They are trying to force men to return to work, but so far they have not succeeded very well.

At present, the two groups are deadlocked. The only hope for a peaceful solution seems to rest in a small group of neutral professors who are trying to reach an agreement which all parties will accept. They suggest that all political factions send delegates to a board, which will select a provisional president and act as an advisory body to him. The army's influence in governmental affairs would be reduced, a new electoral law would be passed, and a new Cuban constitution prepared.

France: French women, unlike those of Great Britain and the United States, are not yet allowed to vote. They have long carried on a "votes for women" campaign, however, and at length succeeded in inducing the Chamber of Deputies to study the matter. But the Universal Ballot Committee of the Chamber could not agree. After hours of debate, they arrived at a compromise solution. Instead of giving a vote to every man and woman, they elected to give one vote to each family. Unfortunately, the committee did not specify how members of the family were going to settle their voting problems. If the committee's recommendations go through, French political turmoil may find its way to the family fireside.

U.S.S.R.: Russia, like Japan, is beginning to show a keen interest in America's game of baseball. A baseball department has been created by the Supreme Physical Culture Council of the Red capital. Eight teams in Moscow have reported for spring practice and a number of baseball nines have been organized in other cities of the Soviet Union. The Communists are particularly enthusiastic for team

games rather than individualistic sports such as golf, tennis, and track. They believe that men who can play as a team are better fitted to work together in a cooperative socialistic spirit.

It is expected that a league will be formed this year so that teams of different cities can play against one another. It may not be long before Russia develops her own Babe Ruthovitch and sends a Soviet team to New York hoping to capture a world's series.

Chile: The European countries are by no means the only ones which have inaugurated schemes for bettering the lives of country and city people. Down in Chile, that ribbon-like country on the west coast of South America, two new laws have just been passed to provide for farm colonization and city slum clearance. Under the first of these laws the government offers to lend as much as \$2,500 to those who wish to purchase farmlands and build homes upon them. Special areas have been blocked off for the purpose, and colonists are enabled to acquire from 10 to 300 acres, depending on the value of the land. The only hitch in the scheme is the requirement that every borrower shall have graduated from one of Chile's farm schools. This prevents borrowing by men who know nothing about farming and assures a good reliable class of colonists.

Under the slum-clearance law, workers are able to borrow from the government so that they may build better homes. Owners of dilapidated tenements will be compelled to make improvements for the sake of the tenants.

China: Last week we discussed the British proposal of an international loan to China. The Department of State in Washington assented to the idea, but it was feared that Japan would be very much opposed to it. Reports indicated that Japan herself was offering China a loan in return for large political concessions. Many observers held that Japan was trying to shut out China's trade with the western powers and thus violate the "open-door" agreement of 1921. Therefore, they said, Japan will oppose an international loan—she will strive to have China under obligations to Japan alone and not to Great Britain, France, and the United States.

The situation is still rather obscure. It seems that though China is in a bad financial fix, she never asked for a loan. Japan denies that she ever offered one. Some Chinese and Japanese approve the idea of an international loan; others disapprove. The Chinese admit that they could use a little money, but in view of the fact that they are in no position to repay a loan, they feel certain that the powers' offers are purely political. China is in no mood to grant new concessions to foreigners; she prefers to work out her own destinies. The Japanese seem rather flustered.



LOST
—Elderman in Washington Post

It is clear that they do not like the Anglo-American proposal of an international loan, but some Japanese officials say that such a loan might be advisable. They point out, however, that some means would have to be found to compel China to use the loan for industrial rehabilitation and not for armaments.

Hungary: Premier Goemboes has dissolved both his cabinet and the Hungarian parliament and set a date for a new parliamentary election. What is his purpose? Until recently he has depended for support upon a conservative aristocratic group headed by Count Bethlen, the former premier. But his own political ideas are far from conservative. His new move is really indicative of his belief in reform instead of conservatism. He is throwing out the aristocrats, who used to dictate his policies, and is appealing to the middle classes. He promises that the privileges of the nobles will be reduced, that some of their lands will be redistributed, and that the power of big business will be curbed. In order to do this he proposes to establish a modified form of fascism. The new Hungarian election, therefore, may add the name of Goemboes to the roll of European dictators. And still another European country may see parliamentary government pass from the scene.

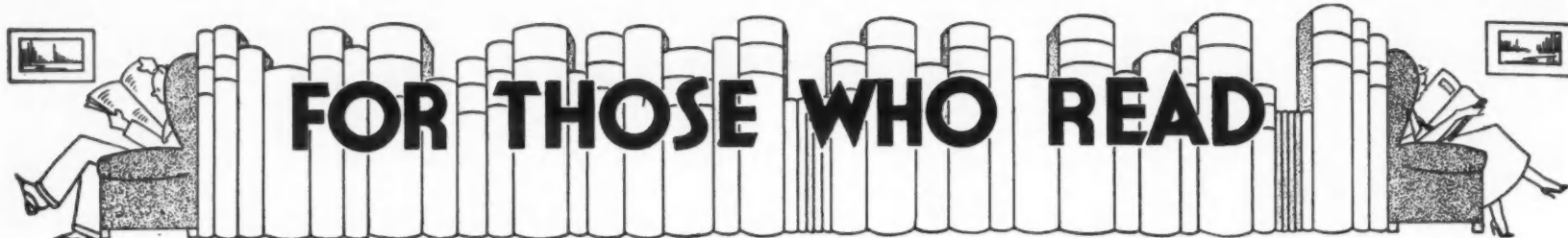
Germany: Under Economics Minister Schacht, Germany continues her campaign to buy less from foreign countries and sell more to them. In order to acquire this "favorable balance" of trade, he plans to raise large equalization funds by taxing all German industries. These equalization funds will be paid to German exporters so that they can afford to sell abroad at lower prices than foreigners who make the same products.

It is hard to see just why Germany is following a policy of this sort. By selling her merchandise so cheaply she is really offering presents to the rest of the world. Apparently she merely wants to strengthen herself industrially and become the world's creditor instead of its debtor. It is true that she wants to make herself economically self-sufficient, but self-sufficiency does not necessitate exports any more than it requires import trade.

At any rate, Germany is succeeding in cutting down her imports from foreign countries. In the past year her imports from the United States have been cut to a third of what they were in 1933.



THE VICIOUS CIRCLE
—Herblock in Winfield Daily Courier



Historical Poems

Two years ago Farrar and Rinehart, New York, published a remarkable collection of poems by Rosemary and Stephen Vincent Benet. In this little book there are 56 poems, each one about a noted character in American history. The verses begin with Christopher Columbus and the poetical sketches close with Woodrow Wilson. Then, for good measure, there is a verse on "U. S. A."

Since many American history classes have probably reached the period of Grant's administration at about this season and since we deal with certain features of that administration in the Social Science Backgrounds department this week, we are using, as a sample of these sketches, the poem on General Grant.

This little book sells for \$2. We recommend it to teachers and students of history. A little poetic imagination such as one finds in these poems will serve admirably to enliven historical studies which otherwise might be a little dull.

ULYSSES S. GRANT

1822-1885

Ulysses was a soldier
And a soldier great was he,
He bested every foe he faced,
Including Robert Lee.

Ulysses was a gentleman,
Although not always neat.
He wouldn't take Lee's sword away
After Lee's defeat.

Ulysses was an honest man
But friends could get around him,
—And so, when he was President,
A poorish one we found him.

It works that way, sometimes, I fear,
For men are kittle cattle.
—How many rhymers, children dear,
Have ever won a battle?

Low-Priced Books

Americans are often accused of not being so interested in good literature as the people of other countries—England, for example. We know, as a matter of fact, that twice as many books are published in England as in the United States. We do not believe that this deficiency on the part of Americans is due to a lower level of cultural advancement. Different tastes and interests, a diversified social environment, may be a partial explanation. But one

reason for the failure of Americans to measure up to their English brethren is undoubtedly the fact that it is often difficult, if not impossible, for Americans to procure the books to read, especially new publications. There is scarcely a new book published in this country that sells for less than \$2, and many of them, even novels, run much higher than that. Prices such as these are prohibitive to many people.

Many European countries have for years put out cheap editions of most of the latest works of fiction. We find such editions in England, which may be a partial explanation for the greater amount of reading done in that country. France is renowned for its paper-bound novels which are so inexpensive that almost anyone interested in literature can afford them. Americans have been surprised, on entering Germany, to find that they can buy almost any of the really good works of English-language fiction in paper-bound editions which cost only about 50 cents.

While the United States lags behind other countries in providing the works of literature, old and new, to readers at a price which they can afford, the last few years have seen considerable progress in this respect. The Modern Library Series, for example, adds new titles to its already imposing list of publications every year. Other cheap editions are thrown on the market, thus allowing people not only to read good books but to build up libraries of their own. Now the Macmillan Company announces the inauguration of the Modern Readers' Series, which is composed of really worthwhile works of literature, both new and old.

The first batch of books published in the Modern Readers' Series consists of 22 titles, each volume of which sells for 90 cents. The books are attractively and solidly bound and the printing is the same as in the original editions. The 22 titles have been so selected as to include all types of literature—novels, poetry, essays, drama, and biography. Such books as Gladys Hasty Carroll's "As the Earth Turns," James Stephens' "The Crock of Gold," Jack London's "The Call of the Wild," Robert P. Tristram's "Portrait of an American," Stuart Chase's "Mexico," Walter Lippmann's "A Preface to Morals," Edward Arlington Robinson's "Tristram," Thomas Hardy's "The Return of the Native," Henri Fauconnier's "Malaisie," and many of the classics are included. Each year a number of new books will be added to the list. We recommend the Modern Readers' Series very highly to our readers.

Elinor Wylie

The more literary minded of our readers will delight in "Elinor Wylie: The Portrait of an Unknown Lady," by Nancy Hoyt (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, \$2.50), for it is the sort of intimate biography that only a sister could write. Nancy Hoyt has written about her sister in an extremely informal and charming way, thus giving her book a special value which more erudite and complete biographies of one of America's greatest poets will lack.

If the biography is romantic, it is because Elinor Wylie was a romantic person, as anyone who has read her poems or prose knows. Whether Miss Hoyt follows her sister to Europe or accompanies her to literary social functions in New York, the result is the same. The reader becomes well ac-

quainted with her through the eyes of a devoted sister. Without this book, the life and work of Elinor Wylie would be incomplete.

Francis I

Those who have read Francis Hackett's biography of Henry VIII of England will enjoy his latest biographical work—"Francis I" (New York: Doubleday, Doran, \$3). The new volume maintains the same high degree of scholarship and unusual literary qualities that marked his earlier work. In some respects, it is a better book; certainly it ranks among the best biographies that have appeared in a long time.

The principal value of "Francis I" lies not in the recital of historical events, such as the wars in which the French king participated, but in the portrayal of life as it was in France during the period of the Renaissance. Many of the great artists and writers of that fruitful period, both Italian and French, parade across the pages of Mr. Hackett's book, giving it an unusual vitality and flavor. We recommend it very highly to students of European history and all those interested in this particular period.

Understanding China

If the last three years have seen the publication of an increasing number of books on Asia, it is because there prevails a mysterious feeling that the future of the western world is in some way connected with the fate of the Orient. This feeling may or may not be justified as the years go by. William Martin thinks so and attempts, in his "Understanding the Chinese" (New York: Harpers, \$2.50), to show just what role China has played in the past and what will be her place in the world's civilization of the future.

Mr. Martin's approach to the Chinese problem is entirely sympathetic. Many of the woes are attributed by him to the "invasion" of China by the western world and an attempt to impose European and American standards upon a nation whose whole way of living and thinking is different. After reviewing the many-sided aspects of Chinese life and development, Mr. Martin concludes that the Chinese will yet become one of the "world's great centers of civilization and productivity."

With the Magazines

One of the most controversial of all New Deal issues is the question as to whether or not the government has the right to enter the field of private enterprise, as it has done in the Tennessee Valley and other projects. Stuart Chase, the well-known economist who wrote "The Economy of Abundance," gives his ideas on the subject in an article entitled "Government in Business," appearing in *Current History* for March, 1935.

Mr. Chase is an advocate of governmental economic activity. He believes that government control of industry is inevitable, owing chiefly to modern methods of production, which, permitting a greater and greater increase in production because of continual technological improvements, undermine those financial institutions which depend on scarcity for profit. The growth of great corporations, which make

it difficult for the individual to start in business for himself, and the waste of natural resources under private exploitation, are other factors contributing to the spread of government ownership. Mr. Chase shows how the influence of the government in business has increased through the years, and describes its activities along this line under the New Deal.



PING-PONG IN THE ORIENT
—DAILY EXPRESS (London)

In an article entitled, "What's Wrong With Congress," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1935, Henry Pritchett describes the tremendous growth in recent years of the mass lobby, with the resultant influence on legislation. He deplores the fact that such organizations as the American Legion, representing only a minority of citizens, can, nevertheless, by high-pressure methods, cause Congress to pass laws.

Mr. Pritchett considers the influence wielded by such groups a menace to democracy, and attributes it to two factors: Congress and the people. Most congressmen, he says, do not dare defy these bodies for fear of losing votes, and the people themselves are often too ignorant or too indifferent to care whom they elect as legislators. In his opinion, we must awaken to our responsibilities as voters if we wish to avoid being dominated by lobbies.

Eugene A. Kelly, who is a reporter for the *Washington Times*, complains in an article entitled "Distorting the News" in the *March American Mercury* that "the life of a reporter in Washington is no more exciting than knitting." Washington newspaper men, he says, do not go out and get stories; they are given "handouts" (prepared statements) which are written by well-paid government press agents. Each department and bureau has its own corps of these "news" dispensers who issue what Mr. Kelly considers unending streams of propaganda, generally confused, often misleading, and always praising the New Deal.

Press conferences, which Mr. Kelly finds amusing, are, in his opinion, nothing more than "concentrated sales talks for the New Deal." He urges the country to take these dispatches with more than a grain of salt.



FRANCIS I

From a painting by Titian in the Louvre, Paris

THE AMERICAN OBSERVER

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

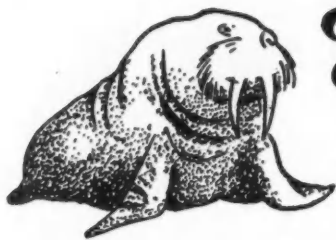
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The Walrus

"The time has come, the walrus said, to talk of many things: of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—of cabbages—and kings."

The Forum Idea—A rather important social and political development is under way in this country. I refer to the growth of the forum idea. Many cities and towns, some of them in relatively small places, are presenting lecture courses, and nationally prominent lecturers are contributing discussions of important public problems. In many places arrangements are made for a questioning of the speakers at the conclusion of the addresses. The audiences are in this way encouraged to participate in the discussions.

These forums, emphasizing the discussion of public problems, promise to occupy a place of prominence similar to that which a generation ago was held by the chautauqua assemblies. Twenty-five or 30 years ago many towns had their chautauquas. They brought in lecturers, musicians, and other attractions. Then came other forms of entertainment, moving pictures, and finally the radio, and it was freely predicted that the day of the lecturer was over. But now people are coming to feel the importance of face-to-face contacts, and discussion groups, large and small, are becoming more popular.

✱ ✱

A. A. Berle—I listened with pleasure and admiration at a recent Town Hall meeting in Washington to an address by A. A. Berle, city chamberlain of New York and counsel to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Mr. Berle is a brilliant man. He was one of the original members of the famous brain trust which advised President Roosevelt early in his administration. In collaboration with Gardiner C. Means he wrote "The Modern Corporation and Private Property." He is an authority on the subject of present-day business organization. The address which I heard him deliver was on the subject of the Constitution. He replied in the negative to the question as to whether the Constitution is in danger. He spoke logically and persuasively and was the master of the situation in handling his questioners at the conclusion of his address.

People often speak as if grades in school amount to little. It is claimed that we cannot tell much about the future success of a student by the grades which he obtains. This is not true in Mr. Berle's case. He finished Harvard in three years and made an outstanding record for scholarship. Since then he has gone steadily forward and has now won nation-wide recognition for his intellectual achievements.

✱ ✱

President Holds Back—The press conferences at which President Roosevelt talks to newspaper men are becoming less interesting than they have been. The president has less to say. Seldom does he give out news which is really important. Not very often does he express an opinion on a really vital question. He was very cordial and quite frank with the press early in his administration. He is still cordial, still jovial. He still calls many of the correspondents by their first names; still jokes with those who are standing about his desk. But he is by no means outspoken about what he has done or about his policies. He nearly always opens a conference by saying that he really has not much to say. Last week one time he said when the correspondents had gathered about him that he had seen his first robin of the spring the day before. He said that that was all the news he had.

After an opening of this kind the correspondents ask questions. Most of them are trivial. Once in a while a question goes to the heart of an important problem. In such a case the president generally says that he has no information on the subject; that he has not read the bit in question; or

else he suggests that the question be put to some specified official in the government. Sometimes he seems to answer a question without really telling much. Very often he says that what he is saying is "off the record" which means that it must not be repeated. But even these "off the record" remarks are usually of no consequence. As a general thing it would make no difference if they were repeated.

✱ ✱

Recent Movies—I am not a movie fan or a critic, but during the last two or three weeks I happen to have seen a number of movies several of which are good enough from one standpoint or another to deserve recommendation. Since movies appear about the same time in all parts of the country I dare say that these which I am mentioning have had their runs in nearly all communities. I shall speak of them, nevertheless, with the thought that some of my readers may have missed them and may have a chance to see them at second-run theaters. Here they are:

"The Scarlet Pimpernel." Daring adventure. Good acting. Period: French Revolution.

"Sequoia." Excellent nature picture. Notable for scenery.

"The Good Fairy." Very amusing comedy. Frank Morgan, in my opinion, is one of the best.

"Roberta." Musical comedy. Amusing. Tuneful.

"The Gilded Lily." With Claudette Colbert. Romance. Good acting. Amusing.

Bitter Civil Strife Sweeps Over Greece

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

the rebels are putting up a stiff fight and are confident of overthrowing the government. But neither are these statements entirely reliable, since they come from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and not from the immediate scene of conflict. There is, therefore, considerable mystery as to what is actually happening in Greece.

Career of Venizelos

But there are some facts which can be established. It is known, of course, that the rebellion started as a movement to overthrow the government and place former premier Eleutherios Venizelos in power. Venizelos is a shrewd, ambitious man with long experience in Balkan politics. He became premier of Greece for the first time 25 years ago. He was responsible for bringing Greece into the war on the side of the Allies, not an easy task, for the king at that time was the brother-in-law of the German kaiser. After the war he boldly undertook a military campaign to gain added territory at the expense of defeated Turkey. He was backed in this adventure by the British premier, David Lloyd George, and by Sir Basil Zaharoff, known otherwise as the "mystery man of Europe," and the "richest man in the world." Zaharoff, who claimed Greece as his country, had made huge sums of money selling munitions to various governments on behalf of the British firm of Vickers. When the war ended, he conspired with Venizelos in an attempt greatly to enlarge Greece. The stake, this time, was not munitions but oil, of which there are large quantities in Turkey. Sir Henry Deterding, the Dutch-British head of Royal Dutch Shell, is supposed to have had a

hand in the affair. The whole thing was an amazing venture to grab Turkish land for Greece which would be under the protective arm of Great Britain. The British were interested because they had long rivaled Russia for control of the Near East and saw a chance to entrench themselves in that region at a moment when Russia was sadly disorganized. Moreover, the war had revealed the tremendous importance of oil, and Turkish oil fields were a prize to be coveted. But the conspirators reckoned without the genius of Mustapha Kemal, who emerged as leader of the Turks and badly defeated the Greek forces.

These details show something of the character of Venizelos. Above all, he is ambitious for personal power. His venture against the Turks did not kill his political future. He came back in time, and overthrew the monarchy completely. He has been in and out frequently as premier of the country. He was last ousted in 1932, and retired to his native isle of Crete in order to make new plans.

Plots and Counterplots

The latest Venizelist plot is this rebellion about which we have been reading in the newspapers. It is reported that he spent a year preparing for it. The reason given for the revolt is that the government under Premier Panayoti Tsaldaris was getting ready to bring back the monarchy to Greece. Venizelos saw himself threatened by such possible action. He claims to be an ardent adherent of



TSALDARIS

democracy, but really his aim is dictatorship. He has recently expressed admiration for Hitler, and is believed to have a Fascist future in mind for Greece.

Curiously enough, the Tsaldaris government is suspected of having quite similar ideas. Greece has been visited by increasing financial and economic troubles during the last few years. There has been a noticeable growth of communist sentiment among the people. It is natural that under such circumstances there should be a movement in Greece resembling those which have swept over other countries such as Germany and Italy. The principal question at issue is who shall be dictator, Venizelos or Tsaldaris and a new king? In any event, democracy seems definitely due to be abandoned.

It will be interesting to see how events shape themselves in Greece during the next few months. For there is reason to believe that other nations may have had an interest in the Greek civil war. Certain strong suspicions have come to light, but only the future will tell whether there is any basis for them. At any rate, it is rumored on

the one hand that Great Britain is involved as she was in the Graeco-Turkish war of 1921. The report is that the British have become alarmed over the trend of developments in the Near East during recent years. There has been a growing friendship between Mustapha Kemal and the



—Photo by Fred Boissonnas
A GREEK HOME

Shah of Persia—where some of Britain's most important oil fields are located. Likewise there has been increasing sympathy between Greece and Turkey. Last year Greece, Turkey, Rumania, and Yugoslavia concluded a Balkan pact to guarantee each others' frontiers.

British Fears

The growth of Turkey's influence is alarming to Great Britain, for the warm friendship between Turkey and Russia is well known. In these moves Britain sees a revival of that Russian power in the Near East which she has resisted so bitterly. The suspicion is, therefore, that the British have persuaded the Tsaldaris government to abandon the democracy and its pro-Turkish tendencies and substitute a strong monarchy in its place. It so happens that some months ago King George's son, the Duke of Kent, married Princess Marina of the Greek royal family. Since then there have been hints that the Britisher would be placed on the throne of Greece.

But if these were the plans—and it must be emphasized that their existence has not been proved definitely—they met a decided check in the person of Venizelos. Ambitious to seize power himself, he charged that Tsaldaris was planning to do away with the republican form of government, and rallied his forces to action. And here we come to a second suspicion. It is rumored that the power in back of Venizelos is none other than that of Mussolini. Italy controls Albania, and has been friendly to Bulgaria, which would like an outlet to the sea through the land which Turkey owns in Europe. Italy, also, has been looking jealously at Turkey where there are resources and room for colonization. And she has been disturbed by the Balkan pact and the consequent increase of Turkish influence. It is reported that she would like to break up this combination and substitute a new one composed of Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece in its place. If she could do this, she would control the Balkans and she would be in a position some day to strike at Turkey. But whether or not this rumor is well founded, probably no one can say at present. There is a great deal of smoke in the Balkans. That region has long been the center of deep intrigue among the powers. We may see developments of the greatest importance there again.

When the Greek civil war first broke out it was feared that the fighting would spread to other countries. People wondered if Bulgaria or Yugoslavia would not take the occasion to push their frontiers through to the sea. At one time it was reported that Bulgaria and Turkey were massing troops near the border of Thrace. It appears, however, that these measures were only precautionary and that there was no real danger of a general Balkan war.



© W. W.
VENIZELIS



—Courtesy New York Times
GREECE AND HER NEIGHBORS

The Government Pushes Its Housing Program

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)



—PWA Photo

A MODERN HOUSING PROJECT CONSTRUCTED IN PHILADELPHIA BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF HOSEWORKERS WITH THE HELP OF A PWA LOAN

the public works fund should be used for housing. It is true that \$450,000,000 is a considerable sum. At the same time, it must be remembered that before the depression about \$2,000,000,000 was being spent each year by private enterprises in home construction. The present plan, therefore, would call for the government to furnish only about a fourth as many homes as were being built in 1929. It is forcefully argued by those who are enthusiastic for the housing idea that the government cannot engage in other kinds of projects—road building or anything else which it contemplates—which will meet as great a need as houses would and which, at the same time, will furnish an equal stimulation to industry.

Effects of Poor Housing

No one can go about over the United States, visiting cities and country districts, without being impressed by the fact that a very large proportion of the people live in miserable, unsanitary shacks or in old dilapidated tenements. They do not have even ordinary comforts. It is hard to say just how many millions of our people are inadequately housed, but investigations indicate that perhaps a third of them are so badly housed that they cannot be said to maintain decent standards of living. These people live in discomfort and their health is endangered. They are crowded into small quarters and do not have proper ventilation, are without proper plumbing facilities, and in other ways their dwellings are squalid and unsanitary.

It is easy enough to see that such housing conditions lead to misery and unhappiness. Then, too, people are likely to forget that such conditions have a serious influence upon the public health. Numerous studies have shown that death and sickness rates are much higher in slums and shabby living quarters than in better residential sections. It has been found that in dwellings where rent amounts to \$20 or less a month, six times as many deaths occur from tuberculosis as in dwellings where monthly rents amount to \$75 or more. Of course, this heavy tuberculosis toll in the poorer living quarters is not due entirely to bad housing. The people in these dwellings, because of low income, are likely to suffer from undernourishment and to be without many things which are necessary for the maintenance of good health. There is no doubt, however, that poor housing is directly responsible for a decidedly lower level of health. Neither is there doubt that the health of the whole community is endangered when large sections of the population fall prey to diseases, some of which are contagious.

Other evils resulting from slum conditions are briefly pointed out by Colonel Horatio B. Hackett, head of the Housing Division of the Public Works Administra-

tion. Speaking of the slum districts, he says, "We find that they breed and harbor the enemies of society, the youthful gangster and the hardened criminal, and start many potentially decent citizens on careers leading, inevitably, to lawbreaking and crime. We also find that slums and blighted areas hatch disease and produce epidemics affecting the whole city. In short, the slums of America are the taxpayers' greatest extravagance." One expert on housing has estimated that the total cost of poor housing to the American people in death, illness, and crime, amounts at the very least to \$4,250,000,000 a year.

Why Government Steps In

We see, therefore, that on the one hand the American workers need the jobs which might be supplied by the building of houses. We see, on the other hand, that millions of people need the houses which the now unemployed millions might construct. Unquestionably there is need for more houses. Why then are the houses not being built? There is a demand for them. Why do not the private builders employ men and go to work? The answer is that while the poor people of the nation need good houses, they do not have the money to pay for them. They cannot buy good houses even on the installment plan, nor can they pay rents high enough to enable them to live in decent quarters.

What then are we to do about it? One solution would be to see to it that somehow all the people of the country might be given a chance to work and might have incomes high enough so that they could afford decent dwellings. But that solution is not one which is easily worked out. We cannot wave a magic wand and thus bring to all of the millions of Americans incomes high enough so that they can purchase or rent good houses. They could not do that even during the so-called prosperous days of 1929. Even then a third of our people were miserably housed because their incomes were so low. Of course, the goal of high incomes for all is one we should work for. Several of the programs of the Roosevelt administration are designed to help bring about that result.

We must keep in mind the fact, however, that for some time to come a large proportion of our people will not have enough money to pay for good houses or apartments. That is why private builders are not erecting apartments and dwellings today. If they did put up the buildings, they could not sell or rent them for enough money so that they, themselves, would have a profit. It appears, therefore, that if the

less fortunate part of our population is to have decent housing, the houses must be put up with the idea that they cannot be sold or rented at a profit. This means that the work must be done by the federal government.

The Housing Division does not contemplate putting up the houses and apartments at a loss. It is thought that low-cost buildings can be put up which will offer comfortable accommodations at a rental of four and a half to six dollars a room, which is no more than the present tenement dwellers are paying for their unsanitary accommodations. Private enterprise could not do this work, for it would be obliged to receive a profit, but if the government puts up the buildings and rents them at cost, it may be able to bring rentals down to a point where fair housing can be obtained by very poor people. It is not certain that this can be done by the government without loss but there is a possibility of it. There are many people, however, who feel that the government should continue this program even if it does lose money. They argue that decent housing should be supplied to all the people just as good education is made available in public schools. The amount which the government loses by a low-cost housing program, it is contended, should be made up through taxation.

Against Government Housing

The arguments relative to a government housing program are, of course, not all on one side. There is strong opposition to the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars by the government for the building of apartments and residences. Many business men, it is true, favor governmental housing on the ground that it will stimulate the construction industries. But other business interests oppose such a policy. Real estate men and construction companies are likely to be in opposition. One often hears an expression of the opinion that the government does not need to go into housing. It is argued that in most cities there are vacant apartments at the present time. Rents are relatively low. There is not a demand for more housing. This may be true in the case of apartments which command a high rent and which are occupied by people with fair incomes. It is also true that people with low incomes are not renting houses. The reason is not, however, that they do not need larger quarters than they now occupy. The reason is merely that they have not the money to pay for desirable homes.

Another effective argument which one often hears is that government building would discourage private building. Private companies, it is said, will not put up apartment houses if they know that the government is going into the housing business. They will be afraid that if they re-

move slums and build modern apartments, the government will come along after a while and build apartments which will compete with those put up by the private companies. The government will not ask for a profit. It will rent its apartments at cost. In order to compete with the government, the private companies will have to cut down their rents so that they will not have profits. And if private companies think they will be deprived of profits, they will not put up apartments at all. The result of the government building program, it is argued, will be that the government will do a little building, but not enough to supply all the people; that private companies will do none at all, and that there will be a greater housing shortage in the long run than if the government stayed out altogether.

There are many private builders who do not object to government operations so



NO SULPHUR AND MOLASSES THIS TIME

—Brown in N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

long as the government is building only low-cost houses and apartments to rent at a low figure to the lowest income groups. Private companies cannot make much money with such houses anyway. The strongest opposition comes from those who feel that if the government gets into the housing business at all, it may gradually extend its operations and will, after a while, be building for all classes of the population. It should be emphasized, however, that that is not the present policy of the government. The Roosevelt administration plans to build only for those who have low incomes and who are now inadequately housed. It should be further emphasized that the Roosevelt housing program, as thus far developed, is a very moderate one. It is proposed that only about a tenth of the public works fund be used for home construction.

ITALY AND ABYSSINIA

Although Benito Mussolini continues to send troops to his colonies in northeast Africa, there is a ray of hope that the Italian-Abyssinian dispute may be settled without further conflict. Both parties have agreed to establish a temporary neutral zone four miles in width between the opposing forces. While negotiations for a settlement of the quarrel are carried on, neither Abyssinian nor Italian troops will be allowed in this zone. Meanwhile diplomats of the two countries will meet in Addis Ababa to decide what is to be done about the clash that occurred at Ualual some weeks ago, and to try to define the boundary between Abyssinia and Italian Somaliland. Observers believe that Italy will not rest until she has acquired certain concessions in Abyssinia. She will probably ask for the right to construct a railway from Italian Somaliland through Abyssinia to Italian Eritrea, thus linking her two northeast African colonies. She may also ask that Italian citizens be given the right to develop new industries on Abyssinian soil.



—PWA Photo

SLUM SCENE

THIS is the fourth installment of the feature introduced a few weeks ago. These three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will be continued from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the points of view and personalities of each of the three characters. Needless to say, none of the views expressed on this page are to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

Charles: Did either of you hear Huey Long's radio address a few evenings ago?

Mary: I did, and I think it was a good speech, though I don't wholly trust him.

Charles: You've been associating with John too long. You are getting suspicious of everything that's progressive and in the interest of the people.

John: Thank you for the compliment, Charles. I'm afraid, though, that Mary agrees with you more than she does with me. And even in this case she and I don't wholly agree, for not only do I not trust Huey, but I don't think his speech was so hot. It was just an appeal to the rabble—a promise to take property away from people who have it and to give it to those who haven't. Just an appeal to class feeling.

Charles: An appeal to common sense, I'll say. Senator Long didn't advocate socialism. He didn't even advocate government ownership of industries. He simply proposes that there should be a limit upon wealth. No one should hold millions while others are starving. He calls for a levy or tax upon capital. That isn't a new idea. The Labor party in England has advocated the capital levy.

Mary: How would the plan work?

Charles: The government would simply take over property in excess of a certain amount—several million dollars. The property taken over would be divided among the poor so that every deserving family would have at least \$5,000. That isn't all of Long's program, of course. He would have old-age pensions, a shorter workweek so that all may be employed, public works to relieve unemployment, and several other things.

Mary: That doesn't sound so bad. But at the same time, Huey Long seems more like a clown than a statesman to me. I hardly know what to think. There are such contradictory stories about him. Many people say he is a demagogue. Yet his speeches sound sensible enough. Am I just being taken in by him, or is there really something to him? How is one to find out about such things? How can we make up our minds intelligently?

John: That very question came up in my mind the other day, Mary, and I asked Mr. Brown how I should go about it to get reliable information.

Charles: What Mr. Brown are you talking about?

John: The civics teacher. You've had classes with him, haven't you?

Charles: No, but I know him. He's all right. What did he say?

John: He said I should do some reading for myself. Said I should read a number of articles on Long in some of the better magazines.

Mary: How do you know which magazines have articles on Long?

John: That's a childish question, Mary. Haven't you ever used *The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*? You'll find it in the library. It comes out every month, and then there are quarterly and yearly editions. It lists all the important magazine articles by subject and also by author.

Charles: Don't take up your valuable time lecturing on how to study, John. Leave that to the pros. What did you locate through the use of your esteemed *Readers' Guide*?

John: I found a number of very good articles. The best, I think, is a series of three articles by Raymond Gram Swing in *The Nation*, January 9, 16, and 23. The

Talking Things Over

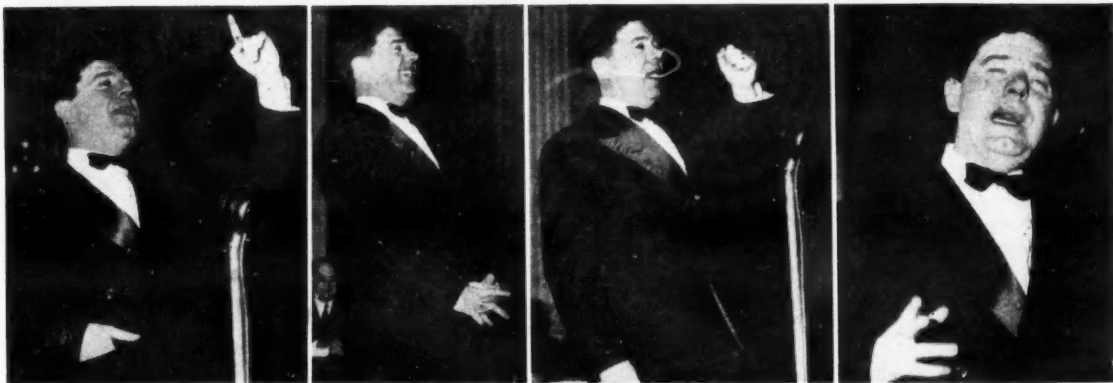
Is Huey Long a Hope or a Menace? How Such Movements May Be Studied by Those Who Wish to Keep Informed.

series is called "The Menace of Huey Long."

Mary: It's strange to hear you quoting *The Nation*, John. I thought you regarded it as a dangerously radical journal. I'm glad you are showing a little more sense than usual in your choice of reading.

John: Don't rejoice too soon. *The Nation*

something for Germany, and possibly Stalin has done something for Russia. But they have killed democracy. Do we want to do that here? I'm a conservative, Charles, and yet I care something for democracy and freedom. I don't want to go to Fascism. I'd think you would be strongly against that.



STRIKING POSES ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF HUEY LONG
He is shown here making a few gestures while delivering a radio speech.

is a little cockeyed and so are most of its devoted readers, present company excepted, perhaps, as a courteous gesture. But I think it is significant that *The Nation*, which is radical, or at least quite liberal, should be finding fault with Long. That means more than if a conservative magazine like the *Review of Reviews* should do it—as it does, by the way, in the March number. And there's an article pointing to Huey as a dangerous political character in the March *Scribner's*.

Charles: Let's get down to facts, John. What do *The Nation* articles say about Long? It just happens that I've read them myself. I'm wondering what impressed you most about what the author said.

John: You're wondering whether I'll mention the things favorable to Long that Mr. Swing said, I suppose. Well, he did say that Huey was a very able man, a powerful lawyer, and an effective popular leader. That's what makes him dangerous. But he is a dictator. He has made a farce of democracy in Louisiana. He runs that state as autocratically as Hitler does Germany. His temperament is such that if he were president of the United States he

Mary: I'm against it, whether Charles is or not. But what do *The Nation* articles think of Huey's economic program?

John: That it's absurd. Huey talks about distributing property. But how, says Swing, can we divide a factory or a railroad and distribute it among the people? Property, as such, cannot be distributed, he says. If we should try to carry out Huey's plan, the only way we could do it at all would be for the government to take over and run the factories and other forms of property and divide the income. But the income from the property of multimillionaires, if divided among the masses of the poor people, would not do much for any one family—wouldn't make them comfortable, as Long seems to think. Probably, too (this is my idea, not Swing's), this plan would ruin the efficiency of business so that production would fall off. Then there wouldn't be much to distribute among the people, and the people would be worse off than they are today.

No. Huey Long is just a demagogue. He is appealing to the masses effectively, but his schemes are unsound. It is likely, too, that if he should come into power in the

haps Dr. Townsend and maybe Upton Sinclair and some of the progressives get together, they will seriously threaten the other parties. All the conservatives will be scared out of their boots. The cry will go up that everyone must support President Roosevelt in order to keep the radicals from winning. Millions of Republicans will vote for the president as the lesser of evils and he will be reelected. The Republican party will pass out of the picture just as the Whigs did in the 1850's. The Democratic party will become the conservative party, just as it became then, and the new party will be the radical. I may be wrong, but that's the way I have sized up the situation so far as the next presidential election is concerned.

John: At least that's the way you *hope* it will be, Mary. It won't hurt anything for you to think that for a few months, and if you enjoy such little brainstorms, there's no reason why you shouldn't indulge in them.

Charles: Well, your friend Brown was right. We ought to do a lot of reading about these things. It's the only way we can keep from being taken in by some crowd or other. All the politicians sound reasonable enough when you hear their stories. But we must always get the

other side. And I don't think any of us have read enough yet about the movement of protest represented by Long and Coughlin and some of the others. There are going to be some mighty interesting developments in American politics during the next year or two, and I, for one, want to understand more about what is happening.

Something to Think About

1. Are there any considerable number of people in your community who are poorly housed? Why are they not well housed?
2. Could the problem be solved by a government housing program?
3. What are the arguments for and against a really comprehensive program of government housing?
4. If you were a Greek would you support the government or the rebels?
5. What interest does each of the following nations have in the Balkans: Italy, Great Britain, Russia, Turkey?
6. Do you most nearly agree with John, Charles, or Mary (page seven) regarding Huey Long? What has Long done for Louisiana? Is there any basis for the charge that if he were given the power he would establish Fascism?
7. How do you account for the fact that a radical party has never gained political control in the United States? Do you think conditions are favorable at this time for the establishment of a third party of radical tendencies?
8. How did Great Britain recently commit a diplomatic blunder and what have been some of its consequences?
9. What are the latest developments in the plans to reorganize the NRA? Why has the American Federation of Labor been so hostile to S. Clay Williams?
10. In your opinion is an increase in the size of our army justified?
11. Do you think the United States should join in an international loan to China?

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PRONUNCIATIONS: Eleutherios Venizelos (ay-loo-thay'ree-os vay-nee-zay'los—both o's as in or), Panayoti Tsaldaris (pah-nay-yo'tee tsahl-dah'rees).



EVERY DAY IS FRIDAY IN THE SENATE
—Talburt in Washington News



BATTLE ROYAL
—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

would stamp out democracy and liberty and give us a Fascist government. And that, of course, is a serious matter. Furthermore, Huey is spiteful and revengeful. He is coarse and profane, rude and discourteous.

Charles: How about the good things he has done for Louisiana? Mr. Swing says that Long has given the state good roads, that he has supported education, has improved the university, has exempted the poor from taxation, and postponed the payment of debts.

John: That's true. So has Mussolini done something for Italy. Hitler has done

United States he would come to terms with Big Business as Hitler and Mussolini have done in their countries. He'd give us a real dose of Fascism.

Charles: If Huey Long and Father Coughlin get together and form a third party he may come into power, may he not?

John: Possibly, but I think not. I think it more likely that they will take votes away from President Roosevelt, splitting his support so much that a Republican will be elected to the presidency next year.

Mary: No, I don't think it will turn out that way. If Long and Coughlin and per-



LAST week we discussed on this page the rise of the American labor movement and showed how it was a reaction against many of the conditions which had developed with the rapid industrialization of the country. It

The revolt against Big Business domination continues

was essentially an attempt on the part of workers to secure for themselves a larger share of the prosperity which business was enjoying after the Civil War. In a way, it was a revolt against the domination of Big Business. In the main, however, the labor groups sought to gain their ends by means of their various organizations instead of establishing a political party which would represent the interests of labor. In this respect the labor movement of the United States has differed from those of most other nations in which the working classes have established political parties to work for their interests.

While labor itself failed to enter the political field, there were a number of political movements which arose as a result of the growing dissatisfaction with the way the government was being run and with the increasing power of the Big Business interests. For example, the Liberal Republican party was established in 1872 largely as a protest against the corruption which had existed under the Grant administration. An examination of the platform of this party shows, however, that it was not a radical party in the sense that it wanted to effect economic reforms which would give the great masses of the nation a larger share of the benefits accruing from the industrialization. In the main, it confined its efforts to political reforms, asking such things as the removal of the restrictions which still applied to Southerners and a sweeping program of civil service reform.

IT WAS about this same time that the Greenback party was organized and actively entered the political field. In the presidential elections of 1876, 1880, and 1884, it entered a candidate for the presidency, and during this

Development of the Greenback movement

period it nominated candidates for Congress. At one time it elected 15 members to the House of Representatives, most of them from the Middle West. This party, while stressing the money issue, was, in reality, a revolt against the existing state of affairs. It should be remembered that it reached its greatest strength during the depression which began with the panic of 1873. Its membership was composed largely of disgruntled farmers, whose prices had sunk to such low levels, that they could hardly eke out an existence, and industrial workers, many of whom were suffering acutely on account of unemployment and low wages. As the depression spent itself and better conditions returned for both the farmers and the workers, the strength of the Greenbackers declined until the party finally passed out of existence.

The greatest revolt of the last century against the domination of Big Business came during the 90's. The Populist party was organized for the primary purpose of helping the farmers and the workers of the nation. In the 1892 election it polled over a million votes and carried four of the western states. The Populists were actually a "radical" party in the sense that they wanted to effect fundamental economic changes which would benefit the great masses of the people. "The fruits of the toil of millions," the preamble to their platform ran, "are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty."

Radical Movements in American History

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires."

LIKE the Greenbackers, the Populists emphasized the question of money, calling for the remonetization of silver as a means of helping the farmers to obtain higher prices for their commodities. But an examination of their platform shows that the Populists demanded many other changes, some of them extremely radical in nature.

Battle reaches climax in the 1896 campaign

Government ownership and operation of a number of the industries, including the railroads, telephones, and telegraphs, "in the interest of the people" was one of the demands of the Populists. Throughout their platform runs a feeling of dissatisfaction with the economic conditions prevailing at the time and the demand for a number of deep-seated reforms. In a word, the Populists wanted a "new deal" through which Big Business would not hold all the important cards.

The great battle of the century, however, came as an aftermath of the Populist movement in the Bryan-McKinley campaign of 1896. The Populists that year accepted the Democratic platform and the Democratic candidate for the presidency. While the great issue in the campaign was the question of silver, the 1896 campaign was actually a battle royal between the masses, farmers and workers, and the interests of Big Business. Here again the deepest feelings were stirred because of the depression which was so generally affecting the people. In speaking of the low level on which the 1896 campaign was fought, Hacker and Kendrick state in their "The United States Since 1865":

Never had there been such a three months in American political annals as August, September, and October, 1896. Everything seemed to be pitched in a high key of emotionalism. People used hot, angry phrases in their speech; newspaper artists made vicious drawings which were meant to hurt; slander, contumely, and vituperation were frequently on men's tongues as customary amenities were forgotten. . . .

During these decades of political ferment, both along the labor front and along the agricultural front, there gradually developed the idea that actually many abuses did exist; that Big Business was getting more than its share of the nation's wealth; that large sections of the population were being exploited for the benefit of special groups; and that government should attempt to create a greater degree of justice for the masses. A number of pieces of legislation designed to curb the influence of Big Business were adopted, the most noteworthy and significant being the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. But, as later developments have shown us, they really did not get at the heart of the economic troubles affecting the country, and each year produced a greater concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few individuals.

Since the beginning of the present century, there have been a number of reform movements which have attempted to bring to the masses greater benefits than they have ever enjoyed. Sometimes, they have been launched

under the banner of the two leading parties, when the liberal or progressive elements have seized control of the party machinery. At times they have been in the nature of third-party movements. Thus we see that in 1912, there was a split in the Republican party, the conservative wing following the leadership of President Taft and the progressive or liberal wing uniting as the Progressive party, under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt.

EVEN the victory of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, accident though it was, was a reform movement which sought to curb the power of Big Business and give to the people more of the fruits of our industrial development.

Reformers continue their political struggle

Whether the movement would really have succeeded in effecting substantial reforms had the World War not intervened is a question which is highly debatable. What actually happened, however, was that the war did intervene and with the entire nation's attention and energy centered upon winning that struggle, the program of economic reform in the domestic field was thrown completely overboard. The enormous profits made by Big Business during the World War resulted in giving it far greater power than it had ever enjoyed before. Aside from the establishment of an eight-hour-day law for the railroads and a child-labor law, which was later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, Wilson's New Freedom failed to get at the root of the economic ills which were ever becoming more pronounced.

After the war was over, disgruntled political groups again tried their hand at unhorsing the conservative elements which had controlled the government. In 1924, they united to elect Senator Robert M. La Follette, long a leader of the progressive Republicans. In that election Senator La Follette succeeded in polling more votes than any third-party candidate, his total being nearly 5,000,000. After his defeat, it appeared for a while that the reform movement was dead. The country was then embarking upon the greatest era of speculation and "prosperity" in its history. The day when poverty would be abolished from the face of the land was seen to be near at hand.

DURING the course of the present depression, the reform movement has manifested itself through the regular political channels. In the last presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt came forward as the evangelist of a new economic gospel.

Radical movements again appear on scene

He promised to bend the machinery of government to the needs of the great masses—the workers and the farmers, and the unemployed. Never before in the history of the nation did the masses respond more enthusiastically to a call for reform than in 1932 and again in 1934. But as certain features of the New Deal have begun to sag and as it has become apparent that wealth has continued to be concentrated in the hands of the few, voices of discontent have again risen. At present, there appear on the horizon elements which might well be united to form the basis of a third-party movement of protest against the existing order. The large followings of the Huey Longs and the Father Coughlins are due to the growing discontent with present economic conditions. Whether these various groups will become merged into a single unit for political action can be told only by the future. If they do, we may expect one of the greatest battles of our entire history.

Glimpses of the Past

One Hundred Years Ago This Week

Plans are being made for the Democratic convention at Baltimore. It is assumed at this date that Martin Van Buren will get the presidential nomination, but should there be a deadlock, it is possible that Jackson himself will run for a third term.

Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel has asked parliament to pass a measure which would make the marriage ceremony more acceptable to dissenters from the Established Church of England. Under the new law, any religious ceremony will be permissible, provided a civil marriage is first performed by a magistrate.

There are now between 700 and 800 slaves who have been offered by their owners to the American Colonization Society. This organization plans to send the freed slaves to Liberia, a settlement on the west coast of Africa, which will be under American protection and supervision.

Among the passengers on the ship Samarang, just anchored in Boston harbor after a long voyage from the East Indies, are two women whose missionary husbands were eaten by the natives of Sumatra.

This is the season for the western merchants to travel east for their supply

of goods. The movement this year is particularly heavy, according to reports. Seats on the stages from Ohio towns to the coast are all taken several days ahead, and those who come from points farther west are compelled to continue to Pittsburgh by boat for lack of stage accommodations.

The president of Venezuela has declared that negotiations are being carried on with the Spanish government with a view toward bringing about a reconciliation between the two countries. Spain has not yet recognized her former colony as an independent republic.

An application has been made to the legislature of Virginia to incorporate a company to light the city of Richmond with gas.

New Orleans papers announce a public meeting to make arrangements for a theatrical benefit to aid John Howard Payne, composer of "Home, Sweet Home." Mr. Payne is practically destitute.

A bill has been introduced into the House of Commons to abolish the practice of imprisoning people for debt, except in cases of fraud.